

Message Text

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63/21

ACTION EA-14

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INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

CINCPAC

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE PEKING SECTION 1 OF 2 1237

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (FOR E.O., TAGS AND SUBJECT:)

E.O. 11652; N/A

TAGS: PINT,CH

SUBJECT: NEW PEKING POSTER BY OUSTER REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE
MEMBERS.

SUMMARY. THE SIGNERS OF THE ORIGINAL WALL POSTER PUT
UP FOR PUBLIC VIEW IN THIS CAMPAIGN HAVE NOW WRITTEN A SECOND
POSTER CAREFULLY TEMPERING THEIR ATTACK TO CONFORM WITH WHAT
THEY INTERPRET AS CURRENT GUIDELINES FOR BIG CHARACTER
POSTER CRITICISM. MANY OF THEIR EARLIER CRITICISMS
ARE REPEATED BUT THE EMPHASIS IS ON WORKING UNDER THE GUIDANCE
OF THE PEKING PARTY LEADERSHIP AAND NOT ON ATTACKING IT.

1. OUSTED PEKING REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE STANDING
COMMITTEE MEMBER LI TUNG-MIN AND HIS COLLEAGUES (OTHER
NAMES NOT LISTED) HAVE PUT UP A NEW 21-PAGE POSTER
REFLECTING ON THE CORRECT PATH FOR CRITICISM IN LIGHT OF
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THE JULY 1 PEOPLE'S DAILY EDITORIAL AND THEIR DISCUSSIONS

WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEKING MUNICIPAL LEADERSHIP. ACCORDING TO THE JULY 18 POSTER, SEVERAL SECRETARIES FROM THE PEKING PARTY AND REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES VISITED LI AND HIS COLLEAGUES SOME TWO WEEKS AFTER THEIR JUNE 12 POSTER HAD BEEN PUT UP TO TELL THEM THE LEADERSHIP WELCOMED THE POSTER AND CRITICISM FROM THE MASSES BUT THAT THE POSTER'S LINE WAS INCORRECT.

2. FROM THE DISCUSSION AND THE JULY 1 EDITORIAL, LI AND THE OTHERS HAVE CONCLUDED THAT THE PARTY CONTROLS EVERYTHING, THE ANTI-LIN ANTI-CONFUCIUS CAMPAIGN MUST BE CARRIED OUT UNDER THE UNIFIED LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY, AND ANYTHING THAT WEAKENS THE PARTY IS WRONG. ERRORS SHOULD BE CRITICIZED BUT CADRES SHOULD BE SAVED AND DEALT WITH LENIENTLY. CADRES SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO ADMIT THEIR PAST MISTAKES AND CORRECT THEM. IT IS ALSO WRONG JUST TO PUT UP ANY KIND OF CRITICISM AND CALL IT "GOING AGAINST THE TIDE" OR TO SAY A PERSON SHOULD BE OVERTHROWN (TA TAO) OR GRABBED AND BEATEN MERELY BECAUSE HE MADE A MISTAKE. ONE SHOULD NOT BE CONCERNED WITH PETTY THINGS SUCH AS PERSONAL PROBLEMS IN THE POSTERS BUT WITH MAJOR ISSUES. THE CRITICS MUST STUDY IN ORDER TO UNDERSTAND THE SITUATION THOROUGHLY, PROTECT AGAINST NON-PROLETARIAN THOUGHTS, AND RECOGNIZE THAT THE STRUGGLE WILL BE LONG-TERM AND DIFFICULT.

3. AT THE SAME TIME, THE WRITERS MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THEY ARE NOT BACKING AWAY FROM THEIR BASIC CRITICISMS OF THE PEKING LEADERSHIP. THEY CRITICIZE THE LEADERSHIP'S TREATMENT OF PERSONS LABELED "516" ELEMENTS, ITS UNWILLINGNESS TO ALLOW CRITICISM OF THE LEADERSHIP ITSELF, AND ITS REFUSAL TO ALLOW A STRUGGLE WITHIN THE PARTY COMMITTEE. THEY CALL FOR THE LEADERSHIP TO DIRECT AN ATTACK AGAINST SWORN FOLLOWERS OF LIN PIAO ON THE COMMITTEE, NOTING SEVERAL TIMES THAT THE LEADERSHIP'S REPRESENTATIVES IN THEIR MEETING DID NOT DENY (NOR ACKNOWLEDGE) THE EXISTENCE OF THESE SWORN FOLLOWERS. THEY CONTRAST THE REPRESENTATIVES' STATEMENT THAT THE POSTERS ARE WELCOME WITH VARIOUS EFFORTS TO SUPPRESS THE POSTERS, INCLUDING INSTIGATING THE MASSES TO QUESTION WHETHER THE POSTERS WERE PATRIOTIC OR TRAITOROUS, TRYING TO KEEP PEOPLE FROM READING THEM, AND LABELING THEM COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY.

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THEY BRUSH OFF THE LEADERSHIP'S STATEMENT THAT IT DOES NOT WANT TO HOLD A PLENARY SESSION OF THE PEKING REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE UNTIL THE INVESTIGATIONS AND REHABILITATIONS (INCLUDING LEFTISTS) ARE COMPLETE BY QUOTING MAO ON THE NEED TO TRUST THE MAJORITY OF THE MASSES AND CADRES. THEY AGAIN SUGGEST THAT A PLENARY MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE BE HELD.

4. LI AND HIS COLLEAGUES APPEAR MOST CONCERNED WITH THE

REHABILITATION OF PERSONS "MISTAKENLY" LABELED EXTREME LEFTIST OR "516" ELEMENTS. ACCORDING TO THE POSTERS, THEY THEMSELVES ARE IN THIS CATEGORY. DURING THE DISCUSSIONS, THE LEADERSHIP/REPRESENTATIVES ARE SAID TO HAVE MADE A SELF-CRITICISM ON THE TREATMENT OF PERSONS LABELED "516" ELEMENTS AND THEY AGREED "WHO SOME LATITUDE" (MIEN-KUAN I-HSIEH) ON THEIR REHABILITATION. THIS DOES NOT SATISFY THE POSTER WRITERS. THEY SAY THE QUESTION OF WHETHER LIN PIAO WAS GUILTY OF EXTREME LEFTISM OR EXTREME RIGHTISM IS A MAJOR ISSUE OF RIGHT AND WRONG AND ARGUE THAT THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST EXTREME LEFTISM WAS USED AS A WAY TO CRITICIZE THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, THE MASSES, THE CORRECT LEFTISTS, AND THE CORRECT LINE OF THE PARTY CENTER. WHILE CONCEDING THE ERADICATION OF "516" ELEMENTS WAS ORIGINALLY SET BY MAO AND THE PARTY CENTER, THEY SAY THE LIN PIAO CLIQUE TURNED IT AGAINST THE MASSES. IN ANSWER TO THE LEADERSHIP'S ASSERTION THAT IT WILL FOLLOW A POLICY ADJUSTED TO CURRENT REALITIES (LUO-SHIH CHENG-TSE), THE WRITERS ARGUE IN EFFECT THAT IT HAS NOT GONE FAR ENOUGH. NOTING THAT THE COMMITTEE SHOULD HAVE STATISTICS ON HOW MANY MASS REPRESENTATIVES AND OTHER ACTIVISTS WERE LABELED "516" ELEMENTS, THE EXPRESS CONCERN OVER HOW MANY PEOPLE MIGHT BE INCLUDED IN THE PROMISE TO SHOW "SOME LATITUDE. ACCORDING TO THE POSTER, THE CURRENT POLICY IN PEKING IS TO DIVIDE CASES BEING INVESTIGATED INTO THE CATEGORIES OF MAJOR CRIMINALS, CRIMINAL ACCOMPLICES, MAJOR POLITICAL OFFENDER, PERSONS MAKING RUN OF THE MILL POLITICAL MISTAKES, AND PERSONS AGAINST WHOM THERE IS NO PROOF. WHEN THE ENTIRE RECORD OF THOSE PEOPLE ACTIVE IN THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND LATER BRANDED "516" IS TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT, THE WRITERS SAY THEY ARE NO WORSE THAN PERSONS LISTED IN THE INNOCENT CATEGORY. BOTH THE EARLIER BRANDING OF THESE PEOPLE "516" ELEMENTS AND TALK NOW OF "SOME LATITUDE" (RATHER THAN WHOLESAL REHABILITATION) LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ARE SAID TO BE ERRORS OF LINE THAT SHOW THE CONTINUING INFLUENCE OF LIN PIAO IN PEKING.

5. SENSITIVITY TO FOREIGNERS READING THE POSTERS IS ALSO EVIDENT. LI ASSERTS THAT CHINA'S TRUE FOREIGN FRIENDS APPROVE OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S VICTORIES IN ELIMINATING LIU SHAO-CH' AND LIN PIAO AND ITS EFFORT TO ERADICATE CAPITALISM. THE SOVIET REVISIONISTS AND "A HANDFUL OF INTERNATIONAL REACTIONARIES" WHO WOULD WANT TO HARM THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND THE ANTI-LIN ANTI-CONFUCIUS CAMPAIGN ARE WRITTEN OFF AS NOT BEING WORTHY OF CONSIDERATION. THE SOVIETS ARE SAID TO BE BADLY MISTAKEN IF THEY THINK THEY CAN MAKE SOMETHING OUT OF THE CRITICISM POSTERS AND THE WRITERS SCOFF AT THE NOTION THAT THE "NEW TSARS" WOULD ALLOW BIG CHARACTER POSTERS

TO GO UP IN MOSCOW.

6. FINALLY, THE POSTER MAKES A NOD AT SEVERAL CURRENT THEMES
IN THE CHINESE PRESS. THE THEORETICAL CONTINGENTS ARE SAID

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TO BE A NEWLY EMERGING THING OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND
THE ANTI-LIN ANTI-CONFUCIUS CAMPAIGN AND PEKING HAS ALREADY
SET UP SUCH GROUPS. THE POSTER CALLS FOR THEM TO CONCENTRATE ON
THE TWO-LINE STRUGGLE. THE RELEVANCE OF THE DEBATE BETWEEN THE
LEGALISTS AND THE CONFUCIONISTS FOR MODERN CHINA IS DULY
AFFIRMED AS IS THE IMPORTANCE OF PROMOTING PRODUCTION AT THE SAME
TIME ONE GRASPS REVOLUTION. THE POSTER DWELLS ON THE PROMOTION OF
PRODUCTION AT SOME LENGTH, ASSERTING THAT PEKIN'S PRODUCTION IS
GOOD AND CALLING FOR EFFORTS TO CONSOLIDATE AND DEVELOP THIS
TENDENCY.

7. IN MARKED CONTRAST WITH THE AVALANCHE OF SUPPORTING POSTERS
CAUSED BY THEIR FIRST EFFORT, NO OTHER POSTERS HAD BEEN PUT UP

PRAISING THIS LATEST PIECE BY LI AND HIS COLLEAGUES.

8. COMMENT: IN THE PAST MONTH, MUCH OF THE BLOOM OF THE
CAMPAIGN APPEARS TO HAVE DISAPPEARED FOR LI ET AL. THEIR FIRST
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J'ACCUSE HAD A RINGING AIR OF DEFIANCE ABOUT IT THAT EXCITED
CONSIDERABLE INTEREST FROM THE NORMALLY PASSIVE PEKING CROWDS.
THIS POSTER HAS A MARKED DEFENSIVE TONE, AND SOUNDS MORE LIKE
PEOPLE PLEADING WITH THE PEKING LEADERSHIP FOR AN IMPROVEMENT IN
THEIR STATUS THAN A FRONTAL ATTACK AIMED AT TOPPLING THE CURRENT
PEKING LEADERS. AT THIS POINT, AT LEAST, THE SUPPRESSION OF
THE PUBLIC POSTER CAMPAIGN IN PEKING SEEMS TO HAVE CHASTIZED
THE CRITICS RATHER THAN CREATED AN OUTPOURING OF RESISTANCE.

HOLDRIDGE

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